[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 177 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they 157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 574 609 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allowing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them. [43] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted. 181 It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words, 577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his [648] way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

181 648

1. A European had once illegally

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clearing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires, and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Before they went to sleep the men and the three young boys walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night, but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative people, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

be's father, Twikwe's husband, the man who had run away for good when we had come. Gai and Ukwane both believed that he could be found, and as they regretted his missing the meat, the salt, the tobacco, and the water that they themselves were enjoying, they suggested that we look for him in a certain omaramba—a shallow valley like a dry river bed—called the Okwa Omaramba.

One morning John, Bob, William, Gai, Witabe, and I set out in the jeep to find him. We were loaded heavily because we were planning to stay the night, the Okwa being far and the terrain rough. All three little boys wanted terribly to go, but Gai felt that they would be a nuisance and chose only Witabe since we were going for his father. Wite pointed out that the man was his father, too, but Gai didn't listen. As we were leaving, the two boys ran beside us, using the last minute to beg to come, but Gai still would not listen or weaken, and the two boys saw that it was no use, lost heart, and dropped behind.

It was a fearfully hot day, with lots of dust and sticking grass seeds, the jeep was overcrowded and overloaded, and I had to hold the rifle between my knees and the camera in my arms to cradle them from banging against each other and on the sides of the jeep. My head cracked against the knees of the people behind me, and everyone was sticky, hot, and very uncomfortable.

We drove until we came to plains that only Gai had seen before, and there the terrain was so rough that Gai and Witabe decided to get out and walk in front to find the easiest way. We would all gladly have done this, but some of us had to stay in the jeep to protect our possessions. Soon Gai and Witabe were far ahead, and we crept behind them for most of the day.

Gai walked first, Witabe behind him, as Bushmen always

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

walk in single file, and they seemed very small, naked, and far away under the burned, pure sky, moving toward some remote destination where they hoped to find a man who had been walking away from them for almost a month, perhaps at some nameless little pan lost somewhere in the countryside, perhaps in a nameless bend of the omaramba. As they walked they zigzagged, avoiding small obstacles such as stones or thorn bushes, very incongruous with the enormity of the sky and the plains. The bow on Gai's shoulder made a bold upward curve.

A tree appeared on the horizon, and they veered toward it. When they reached it they sat in its shade, two shadows in the yellow grass, and a puff of smoke rose as they lit their pipes. We caught up to them and found Gai digging for a *torabe* vegetable. He reached into the hole he had made and dragged it from its roots, brushed the dirt away, and chopped it into six pieces, giving one to each of us. We ate that for lunch. It was bitter and moist, firm as an apple and pleasant because it was wet. As we sat there we noticed the smoke of three veld fires which had suddenly risen, perhaps stirred by the wind far away, two small ones in the north and east, one large one in the south, its smoke reaching up to the sky first in little tendrils, then billowing in great clouds like the clouds in the sky but browner.

Gai and Witabe stood up, brushing sand from their legs, and walked into the sunlight again, turning toward the larger fire. Bushmen often set the veld alight to signal to each other, but they do not send messages; a fire simply shows other people where they are, and even this is vague, as fires are sometimes set by natural causes.

After traveling several hours over the plains, we came to a little forest in a valley. A fire had been through there and had burned all the yellow grass from the ground, leaving black

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

CHAPTER SEVEN

Mood Songs

WHEN we came to the pan of Ai a ha'o we found a small veld fire burning just at its edge on the opposite side and we noticed someone standing near it, partly obscured by the smoke. We called out to see who it was and a cracked voice answered: "Ukwane." He came over to us and told us he was looking for the piece of string that he had made which must have dropped out of his hunting-bag. He had been searching patiently over the ground all afternoon, but I did not see how he could hope to find it with all the smoke and with his hazy eyes that were almost blind. He decided to go home with us and fell in step beside us. We were hurrying because of the women's heavy loads and because of the fire, which by now was putting up a cloud of boiling, brown smoke that streaked out with the wind, making a long pathway above us that reached from the fire to the sun. Birds were being chased from the bushes, still singing because they always sing in the afternoon, and insects from the grass.

We went past the fire and soon it crossed our track behind us and went harmlessly into the west. As we walked, Ukwane told us that during the afternoon the band of seventeen Bush-

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GiKwe

men whom we had met at Okwa had arrived and were planning to live beside us, as life at Okwa was getting very hard. The veld, said Ukwane, was beginning to dry, a condition that we had noticed, which was showing itself in the scarcity of roots and in the rotten, bitter melons. But we suspected that jealousy as much as anything else had brought the seventeen people to Ai a ha'o, the fear that Ukwane's band was feasting while they were being deprived.

At camp we found only three men of the visiting band, as the others were waiting somewhere in the veld, and the members of our expedition, who were trying to find a place for the visitors to camp. The three men were looking stonily around, seeing nothing that seemed agreeable. They had first been offered a grove of trees right by our camp, but they had refused this because of the mamba which they had heard about from Ukwane and which they believed might still be near. One spot after another failed to suit them, and finally they dropped their skin bags of belongings under a pair of small trees very close to Ukwane's werf. Ukwane welcomed them, of course, but I think he felt that difficulties would arise with them living so close and always watching.

One of the men went to summon the others of his band, who had been resting in a patch of heavy thorn bushes not far from our camp, and they came, carrying their youngest children and their bags of belongings, followed by their children old enough to walk by themselves. One of these was a toddling youngster who hadn't been walking long and who surely had been carried for most of the journey. The others were three young boys of about the same ages as the boys of Ukwane's band; when they saw where they were going to be living, they abandoned their parents with a great shout and, running to Ukwane's werf, started a game of horse and rider with the three boys of Ukwane's band. The Gikwe bands

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

574 621 857 do not meet very often, and when they do the children play together day and night. All the young boys were extremely happy to see each other and expressed their joy by starting their game at once, wasting neither time nor breath to say hello. Before the adults of the visiting band had set their bundles on the ground two little horses with their riders had run past, the riders trying to unseat each other.

574 621 361 They played all afternoon and into the evening while the adults went about the business of setting up a camp. I went to the new werf to watch and found that the women had stored away their belongings, stuffing some of their bundles among the tree roots, hanging others from the branches, and were now clearing grass, each woman clearing a small circle for her family. Soon five circles were formed, not quite touching, all sheltered by the branches and all in the space of a few square feet. I helped one woman pull grass, for she was clearing it tuft by tuft, pulling it up with her hands, and as I did this I felt something cold and firm in the grass I was holding, and, looking down, I saw that I was holding an asp. I dropped it, one of the Bushman men ran up to kill it, and one of the [20] women lifted it between her fingers and placed it in her kaross. Later it would be cooked and eaten by a child.

224 574 That same afternoon, some of the members of our expedition went hunting and shot a gemsbok, which was brought back to camp and given to Ukwane to divide. This was, perhaps, a great mistake on our part, for Ukwane gave the entire carcass to the newcomers except for the head, one foot, and a little of the liquid from the rumen, which he kept for his own people. Twikwe dug a pit in the veld and roasted the head in it, and that night, while the newcomers were still butchering, drying, and cooking their larger share, the mem-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

bers of Ukwane's band cut little strips from the cheeks of the gemsbok and sustained themselves with that.

An atmosphere of tension and strain pervaded over the whole werf. The Okwa people had arrived primed with jealousy, and had surely accused Ukwane of selfishness; the false spring, the dry conditions at Okwa had surely given their jealousy momentum. By giving most of the gemsbok to the newcomers, Ukwane had done all he could, for he had shown with his immediate generosity, and with the magnitude of his gesture, that they had nothing to fear from him. Of course, the members of his own band were as jealous of the newcomers as the newcomers were of them, but Ukwane surely felt that the internal struggles of his own band, easier to cope with, would be forgotten sooner.

The tension showed itself in struggles over food. Twikwe made a soup from a bone of the foot, mixing it in the rind of one of the melons she had gathered, and when it was cooked she drank it herself out of the tsama rind, watched all the time by her son Wite. When she could stand his hungry eyes no longer, she put her bowl on the ground so that both of them could scoop up the broth with tortoise shells. After they had eaten part of it, Twikwe decided that it was time to pass the bowl to Kutera, who sat a little distance from them, eating nothing, looking very scrawny and trying not to watch. Twikwe started to do so; then, remembering her son, who was still hungry, she reached behind her for a second tsama rind, a little one, which she would fill for him. In this way she would, of course, have none left for herself, but she preferred to share. Adults are used to hunger, and it seems that the older Bushmen become, the less they mind deprivation. Children are different, and as their needs are considered more pressing than the adults', they are accustomed to receiving

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

578 522 152 bands, who at the time were barely out of earshot. One story concerned Dasina, how she had fainted from smoking too much the day we had come, and to show exactly what had happened, Wite and Witabe acted the scene, Wite taking the part of Dasina and fainting on Witabe's shoulder while the other boys laughed. Bushmen's jokes and stories are usually funny at the expense of a person, an animal, or the god Pishiboro, maliciousness being one way in which Bushmen rid themselves of their resentments.

536 831 825 Somewhat later Wite and Giamakwe acted for the others the scene of the hyena's mating, as they imagined it or knew it to be, for the night it had happened only the sound had reached us and the hyenas had not been seen. Giamakwe took the part of the male hyena, Wite took the part of the female. First they walked together on all fours and rubbed faces, and then Giamakwe climbed on Wite's back, emitting a lonesome howl just like the howl we had heard. It was not meant to be funny, and the other boys watched it calmly, treating the mating of hyenas as a matter of course. All in all, it was a majestic imitation, with snarls and growls, then mounting and pretending to copulate with shivering and ecstasy, then more growls, until finally the male fell away exhausted and curled up on his side, whereupon the female attacked him. It took a long time from start to finish, the Bushman boys being so literal that they not only gave a precise rendition of the event but took exactly the amount of time that the hyenas had taken.

● 574 The adults had not watched the children but were visiting quietly with each other, some of the men from the Okwa band having come to Ukwane's werf to sit at the fires. Very late at night, when the Firewood Star was rising and the Zebra Stars of Orion were just setting foot upon the earth, the visitors got up to go.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

with empty veld around it, veld without veld food, without tracks of game, and we stopped to drink. The waterhole's name was Nam Ta Kwara (Here Is Nothing). Crooked Kwi was the only one who was thirsty, so he climbed alone out of the jeep, the hunting-bow on his shoulder arching over his head, and walked to the water's edge, where he crouched on the white sand all pocked by the tiny feet of birds to dip up water in one long hand and drink it out of his palm. With his body bent easily, his back arched, he was so graceful and lithe that he looked like a serpent or an otter and I wondered again why his name was Crooked Kwi. A white moth touched the surface of the water to drink beside him, and afterward a wasp.

Behind Kwi's head the smoke in the north and west was so thick it seemed that all the Belgian Congo and Angola were in flames, and the sun was swallowed by the smoke, and a gray, soft darkness fell long before the sun had really set.

When we got near Nama Pan it was dark and we saw our camp by its fires, but greatly expanded now as there were perhaps twenty fires where before there had been three. It looked like the camp of an army, for there were fires all over the rise above the pan, arranged in little groups, cluster by cluster, each fire casting light on the branches of a little tree or bush. These were the fires of Bushmen who had come in our absence and at the sight of them the Bushmen in the jeep put up their heads to see who the newcomers were.

At camp many people had got to their feet and were standing silhouetted by their fires as they peered into the dark; they had undoubtedly been listening to the sound of our jeep for hours, and when we stopped there was a crowd already waiting. The people who had been riding, relieved to have arrived at last, climbed out stretching to greet them. The children were taken out, yawning sleepily, the youngest ones whining

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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574 by now, cranky from the long ride; the bundles of tsi were unloaded, the bundles of belongings, and Tu's grass bed. Lazy
361 Kwi went off to find his wife and family, but the others, all
574 Toma's people, looked around for a place to live and finally chose a tall tree, where they dropped their bundles and began to clear grass. In a very short time the werf was ready, fires were lit, tsi was roasting, and several of the Bushmen who had watched us come had gathered there to see if they should have a share of the tsi. Of course everybody got some and then sat down to eat it, burying the nuts in the hot ashes and scooping them out again with a stick when they were done.
[253
576 Dikai gave some tsi to me and said that I could use her fire, a courtesy, so I buried the nuts in the ashes and when I thought they were done I poked for them with a stick but I couldn't find them. Pretty soon they began to explode with loud reports and puffs of gray ashes which showed where they were, but of course then it was too late. You might as well throw them away if you forget where they are, the Bushmen say.

252 Some of the newcomers were eating giraffe hide, roasting great pieces of it, dried and thick and curling; they passed chunks of it around and it looked like the soles of shoes, all that remained of a giraffe hunted long ago. When it was roasted the people put it in a wooden mortar and pounded it into powder, and then licked the powder off their palms. Again, Dikai gave some to me and I found that it was salty and not unpleasant, tasting like bacon.

801 Gao Feet plucked my elbow and when I turned to him he
576 pointed at Dikai, sitting on the other side of the fire. He had pointed his lips at her, pushing his lips forward and gesturing with his chin because Bushmen think it is rude to point with the finger. "She wants to tell you what is in her heart," he
604 said. I looked at Dikai and she passed her hand over her two sons' eyes, first Little Gashe, then Little Dabe, as they slept

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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beside her, and I remembered the eye medicine I had promised to her, so I nodded and went to get it, but when I returned with it I found that she had mistakenly awakened her sons and they now crouched behind her, peering out at me, their small faces distorted with distrust and apprehension. I held out my hand to Little Gashe, but he retired completely behind his mother, pushing Little Dabe out the other side, so I held out my hand to Little Dabe, causing him to shrink back, pushing Little Gashe. Finally Dikai stood up and left them both exposed, and then Gao Feet held Little Gashe, Dikai held Little Dabe, and I put the medicine in as quickly as possible, but both children had tantrums of rage and arched their backs, and as soon as they were released they would have nothing further to do with their parents, but went to sleep at their grandmother's fire instead, on the opposite side of the werf. The light was very dim, only the stars were showing and the fires had died, and these two forlorn children made two red little shapes as they lay down at their grandmother's fire; their skins reflected the red glow of coals, for they lay right in the ashes for warmth; they had forsaken their parents' karosses and there was no room for them under their grandmother's—another child was sleeping there.

Gao Feet gave up trying to urge them to come home and at last he, too, lay down to sleep, snug between his two wives, who were resting, not sleeping, for whenever someone at one of the other fires said something of interest, one or the other of them would put up her head and remark upon it. Tu slept alone with her children, for Toma had gone visiting, and one by one the people at Tu's fire moved away toward their own werfs, calling to each other in the dark. At last only a few voices were heard at one of the werfs; they seemed very gay and very lighthearted, all talking at once, and now and then Toma's voice was heard above them all. Hearing him, Tu

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Short Kwi the Hunter

THERE were about forty people who had moved in beside us at our camp by Nama Pan, having settled overnight into seven werfs, each concealed from the others in the privacy of the grass and forming a community that was superimposed on ours, for the werfs, each a little clearing containing several grass nests or several scherms symbolized by sticks thrust in the ground, surrounded us on all sides and life went on as if we weren't there. People walked back and forth through our camp on their way to patches of veld food or to the water pan, and soon little paths appeared which we had not made.

Mostly, the people were Bushmen from Gam who had left there right after we did and had walked along after us, taking their time, sleeping one night on the way. They had brought all their children and old people, all their belongings, and evidently planned to stay. Even the Chuana woman had come, riding her donkey, followed on foot by two of her Bushman servants, and she had made herself a camp quite far away from us to prevent the donkey from annoying us with its brays.

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Kung

621 The other werfs were much nearer us, as the people wanted
574 to keep an eye on each other, to see that we gave food or presents to all when we gave to one, but also because they enjoyed being together and wanted to be able to visit each other quickly at any time at all. Next to our camp on one side was Lazy Kwi's werf, and on the other side lived Toma with his wife and Gao Feet with his wives. At the far end of their werf lived Crooked Kwi with his wife and the old grandmother. They were between our camp and the pan, and beside their werf ran a pathway, the way used by the people on the other side of us to reach the water.

593 On the other side of the path, in the shade of a tree, lived one more small band, the band of a young man of perhaps thirty, who lived with his twelve-year-old son and his eight-
[582] year-old wife, whom he was nourishing while waiting for her
[591] to grow. These young people had chosen their spot because the little girl was Gao Feet's daughter by his first wife and was still so young that she wanted to live near her mother. She was a sad little girl with a grave face and troubled, wondering eyes; in fact, all these young people were very grave and sad—the young man's first wife had died and he now had no one to care for him because the little girl, his new wife, spent a great deal of time with her mother and he was left alone. The son was lonely too, having no mother and no one to care for him except his sad young father. His father was too troubled, too preoccupied, to be a companion to him, his little stepmother was too young, and he spent most of his time sitting on a rise of ground overlooking the werf where he lived, watching other people going by.

[142] The little girl took after her mother, Gao Feet's ugly wife,
533 but her two men, her husband and her stepson, were a family of great beauty. Both had wide, grave eyes and golden skins, and both were musicians, but the young father himself was

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572 882 574 A sound and a fragrance accompanied them wherever they went; the sound was the sound of their ornaments clanking like crockery, dry and dull, and the fragrance was heavy and [903] sweet, the perfume of the leaves of *sa* and the wood of *tchambuti*, which Bushman women grind to powder and rub on their bodies. We would always hear these two girls coming, for they talked loudly, and a moment later we would see them appear around a bend in the path, one in front of the other, heads high and eyes cast downward, as light and long as two Egyptian sacred cats. Usually they were followed by a homely little girl years younger than they were, a forlorn little creature who would run errands for them and was content to trot after them and be their handmaiden, and usually they were on their way to visit a friend of theirs, a young married girl who was visiting at Toma's werf. When the two beauties would arrive to visit her, their married friend would stop whatever she was doing and the three of them would sit together in some shady spot to string beads or weave blossoms into crowns which they would wear, the blossoms fetched by the handmaiden, who searched the veld for aloes, the only flowers blooming in that season.

882 572 857 While they were stringing beads or weaving blossoms, a group of young boys would gather to play the wand game, and now and then, of course, a wand would land among the girls and the boys would jostle each other to retrieve it. The girl of Toma's werf treated these happenings with gaiety, for she was responsive and kind, but the other two wouldn't even turn their heads to see. Beautiful Ungka had been married, after all, and kidnapped, and widowed and divorced; grown men had fought over her and it was natural that the jostling of young boys would seem trivial. She would laugh behind her hand at them, though, then pull a long face when they would turn around to see.

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Kung

ing happily, but all the adults in all the werfs were too depressed and sad. Finally, one by one, the men went back again to Short Kwi, who by now had rallied and was sitting up, surely having been through the worst of it the night before, and talked to him about the antelopes he had killed and about the time he killed a wildebeest, an eland, and a wild pig all in one day.

It has been said that Bushmen abandon cripples or people who are old or sick and cannot travel. This is not true.

Far into the night, people who could not sleep sat up and talked at each other's fires. We heard the guashi being played, its long strings sounding in repetitious little songs of four or five notes which themselves were played over and over, for the guashi was being passed from hand to hand, played idly by people who just wanted something to do.

It was a warm night. The frogs in the pan were croaking and the north wind blew the cooking-fires around. Later, when the moon rose and made a blood-red fire all its own, the people began to go home. Toma and Gao Feet and their sons stopping to visit us on their way; they walked silently up to our fire from the darkness and dropped to their haunches one after the other, and sat quietly, their grave faces tilted back, hands shading their eyes. Toma's son wore the crown of badger hair, which moved in the wind a little. Presently the men and their sons stood up again one at a time and walked on, as silently on their bare feet as they had come. We heard the low voices of other people who were passing, then saw fires flare up at the werfs, and much later, when the wind had died and even the frogs were silent, we knew that some of the people were dreaming, for they groaned in their sleep.

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voked those supposedly unmentioned beings, the spirits of the dead. Dikai was not offended, though; she gazed down at him calmly. "You, you little thing," she said, "no curse that you could say would hurt me."

Much later in the evening when John and Dan and I were sitting at our own fire just before going to bed, Dikai and her nephew, Toma's son, came to visit us, Dikai with Little Dabe asleep on her back. It was a quiet evening, people were sitting at their own werfs and though they were screened from us by grass we could hear their voices talking and see the light of their fires. When Dikai came, Lazy Kwi, whose werf was on the other side of our camp, heard her speak and stood up to see what was happening, looming suddenly from where he had been sitting only a few feet away. He came through the grass to visit also, and we sat by the fire listening to Dikai as she told us about various relatives in the north and what kinship terms we should use for them, I being named for her and John for Toma. Lazy Kwi told Dan that Dan had been named for him, but named Kwi Cheeks instead of Lazy Kwi, and when Dan asked why his nickname was Cheeks all Lazy Kwi could say was: "Because of your cheeks." We thought, but we could not think of a reason, as there was nothing about Dan's cheeks that might attract attention, except that he had recently shaved his beard so that his cheeks were visible.

Dan said that now he had no beard, no hair, no name, which Lazy Kwi thought was terribly funny and said: "Throw away your beard hairs, throw away your name, but take Kwi instead and be my namesake." Shortly after that we went to bed. Relations seemed less strained.

One morning about a week after Short Kwi had gone, when the people were resting and the werf was quiet, we heard a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959.
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732 rumble, a faint roaring in the veld, the sound blown to us on the wind. Toma must have heard it first, for he stood up from his nap and squinted his eyes at the veld. "A truck," he said. "Your truck. Not the farmers."

He was right; it was our truck. Soon we saw its top among the bushes; when it burst through the bushes at the edge of the pan the Bushman men ran to meet it and, as it did not stop, ran along beside it, craning their necks to look in the front and the back. Soon they dropped behind and walked slowly in its dust cloud. Short Kwi had not come.

The news of Short Kwi was good. At the hospital, his gangrenous flesh had been removed and enough of his calf was left so that a peg leg could be attached to it. A peg leg had been chosen instead of an artificial leg because, in the veld, an artificial leg would be impossible to repair or replace, but a peg leg could be replaced with the carved branch of any tree. It would be months before Short Kwi and his family could return to Nama because Short Kwi would have to learn to walk again, using the peg. When he was able to come, a truck from the government of South-West Africa would bring him.

We told all this to the Bushmen, but they were not really pleased. The miracle which they had perhaps expected had not taken place, for Short Kwi was still a cripple, and he always would be. They did not think of Tu's brother, the lame boy who would someday be a headman, who managed his lame leg and his crutch so well that he had hunted successfully and was initiated into manhood; they turned their sad faces away from the truck and went back to their scherms in silence.

574 602 The following morning, adding somewhat to the tension and unease, the rest of Short Kwi's band arrived. They looked

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FX10 Bushmen FX10.
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very sleek and prosperous, for they were staggering under loads of food, their bags and nets bulging with tsi and their carrying-poles strung with the meat of the gemsbok. They put down their loads and the women began immediately to make a large and busy werf on the far side of Toma's. In a very short time the werf was built and strewn with food and objects, and the people sitting among their possessions looked so comfortable and settled that one would never have thought that they had just arrived.

The old woman, Short Kwi's mother-in-law, did cry when she found her daughter gone. She squatted sadly on the ground and wiped her tears from her wrinkled, dusty cheeks with her fingers. All her relatives, clustered around her, trying to comfort her, telling her that, after all, her daughter would return, that she herself would be looked after and not allowed to starve, and presently the old woman stopped crying, wiped her eyes, and got up to build herself a tiny hut, a shade of grass and branches.

That night, when darkness fell, when the moon rose blood red among the trees and the frogs in the pan began their singing, we were again sitting by our fire, again hosts to a good many visitors, when we heard high voices singing a medicine song. We stood up to look over the grass and saw a fire where no werf was, with five young girls around it singing, clapping a rhythm, their faces lit red by the fire and their backs lit palely by the moon. They were all alone there, far from their homes.

We asked our visitors if there was going to be a dance, which did not seem likely, everyone being in such low spirits, and those who wanted to dance said yes while those who didn't said no. Soon some little children joined the dance, though, among them Little Gashe and Little Dabe. Little

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on.

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again.

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *sa* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead.

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations.

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the

or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. Thirdly, people lend arrows to one another. The status of the arrow plays its part in the distribution of the animal killed with it. There is much giving and lending of arrows. The society seems to want to extinguish in every way possible the concept of the meat belonging to the hunter.

A hunter chooses which arrow he will use. The owner of the arrow—who *ipso facto* owns the animal—may therefore be the hunter himself, who has chosen to use an arrow he made or one that was given him, or he may be a person who lent the arrow to the hunter.

There may be several hunters in the hunting party and several arrows in the animal, but this seems to cause no confusion or conflict. Every arrow is known, of course. The hunters may see which first penetrates effectively so that its poison could account for the kill. But I think that often it is arranged beforehand who will own the animal. A man asking another to accompany him might say, 'Come and help me get a buck.' Or 'Old Gau lent me an arrow and asked me to hunt for him. You come too.'

I think there is little or no dissension as to who owned the animal because it is not a cause for great stress; each hunter gets a share of the meat anyway. I think also that a man wants sometimes to be the owner of the meat in order to start the distribution off in the direction of his own kin and affines, but that one is also content sometimes not to have the onus of the main distribution.

The first distribution of the animal is made in large portions usually to five or six persons. They are the owner of the arrow, the giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not one the owner had made himself), and the hunters. The meat, always uncooked in the first distribution, is given on the bone, unless the animal is large and the meat has been cut into strips at the kill.

In a second distribution the several persons who got meat in the first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. This meat also is given uncooked. The amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution close kinship is the factor which sets the pattern of the giving. Certain obligations are compulsory. A man's first obligation at this point, we were told, is to give to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous portions as he can, while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. The meat may be cooked and the quantities small.

Visitors, even though they are not close kin or affines, are given meat by the people whom they are visiting. This is a strongly felt social rule. Visitors may receive small quantities of cooked meat, which is like being asked to dinner.

Name relatives often receive generous portions of meat because they have the same name as the giver or because their names associate them with his close kin, but this seems to be more a favour than an absolute rule. ≠Toma said there were far too many men named ≠Toma for him to give them special consideration.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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224 602 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. [574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 431 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and primary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously [571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 431 181 [154] [183] Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 262 264 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very [261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 261 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

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563 The waterholes and their respective Bushman and Bantu populations are listed in Table 2.

:Kung group structure

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166 The definition of the !Kung living arrangements presented the most difficult problem of the field study. The !Kung were found to be living most frequently in camps that numbered from ten to thirty individuals. But the composition of these camps changed from month to month and from day to day.

The task of defining the stable membership units was complicated by the following factors:

1. the frequent shifts of individuals and families from one camp to another,
[574] 2. the high incidence of visiting between camps,
3. the presence of long-term visitors from outside the Dobe area,
4. the Dobe area residents who were living elsewhere on extended visits, and
[563] 5. the intermarriage and co-residence of Bushmen with Bantu.

These complications are in addition to the routine changes in group structure brought about by births, deaths, post-marital residence, and the seasonal subsistence cycle.

It became evident that flexibility is the basic premise [121] of !Kung group structure. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to impose a formal model of organization on the data,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

262 plants, are scarce and unpredictable and people never depend
137 on meat for their basic subsistance. Therefore the well-
136 being of the Bushmen as a population can be viewed as the
433 product of two factors: the abundance of food resources in their environment, and the intelligence and sophistication which informs their exploitation of these resources.

512 Although the getting of food is the major activity of
433 Bushman life and is a major focus of Bushman thought, the greater part of the waking life of the Bushmen is given over to social, religious and trading activities that are largely independent of the food quest.

Their emphasis on non-subsistence activities becomes clear when daily records are kept of the activities of the [126] members of a camp. For example, a diary of activities was kept for the Dobe camp during July, 1964. This record was [462] made during mid-winter, a season of comparative scarcity. It was found that the 23 adults of this camp spent less than half of their days in subsistence activities, an average of 23% of the time for the women and 40% of the time for the [574] men. The majority of their waking hours were spent visiting [521] other camps, entertaining visitors, resting, talking, hut building, and making tools, clothing, and ornaments.

Plant Resources

137 There are well over 200 species of plants and 220 species
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433 year, but that territorial arrangements are flexible enough to permit people to collect and eat freely in territories other than their own. Thus there were no instances recorded of the members of one camp going hungry while there was still food available at other camps.

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602 Ecologically, the net effect of this flexibility of territories is to produce an equitable distribution of food resources throughout the population. Kinship, real and fictive, is the social mechanism which makes possible this equitable distribution. Each independent camp maintains ties of kinship and marriage with members of every other independent camp. Implicit in every kinship tie is an obligation to share food and water. When relatives are living together, the obligations are manifested in daily exchanges of food and in mutual aid. When relatives are living at

361 different camps these obligations are latent. An individual
433 who visits another camp will invariably set up his or her hut
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• 574 beside the hut of the member of the other camp to whom he or she has the closest kinship tie. The visitor is secure in the knowledge that the members of the camp will respect his or her claim to the resources of the area.

The principles of intercamp visiting will be illustrated by an example from the Dobe camp. N!ain!a, a woman about 55 years old, is a member of the Dobe camp. She is a younger

361 433 602 574 sibling of the leaders of the two Dobe camps, and therefore has an unquestionable claim to the Dobe resources. N!ain!a has two married daughters whom she frequently visits. One lives at !angwa and the other at Bate. These two daughters and their husbands make reciprocal visits to Dobe about once a month. N!ain!a has a classificatory uncle at !ubi. During the winter she would make daily trips to collect the Baobab fruits that are available only at !ubi. Her uncle, in turn, would make reciprocal visits to collect the vegetable ivory fruits which are abundant around Dobe. Thus N!ain!a maintains active claims in three of the territories adjacent to her own.

N/eysin!a (N!ain!a's older brother) is unlike N!ain!a in that he prefers to remain in his home territory rather than visit other camps. N/eysin!a's kinship ties with members of other camps are numerous but the reciprocal obligations implicit in these kinship ties remain latent because N/eysin!a rarely visits his relatives in other camps.

361 Inter-territorial visiting is perhaps the most important single principle of land utilization among the Dobe area Bush-

311 men. Concerning land utilization <u>within</u> the individual territory, three significant features should be noted.

First, each of the territories borders on an uninhabited hinterland of indefinite size (see Map 14). Because of this, it is difficult to derive an estimate, in square miles, of the

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221 The availability of water can be regarded as the most important determinant of Bushman subsistence activities. A season by season account of these activities will serve to illustrate how subsistence strategies take maximum advantage of water sources. The annual subsistence cycle is described under six headings:

1. First rains
2. Main rains
3. Autumn
4. Early winter
5. Late winter
6. Spring

1. First rains

The onset of the first rains finds the Bushmen clustered [361] around their permanent waterholes. It is this time of year [574] that camp membership is most stable because all areas are short of food and there are fewer incentives for visiting [132] other camps. Also the weather is hot with mean daily maxima of 100°F and walking is uncomfortable.

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221 Food, in the vicinity of permanent water, is in short
824 supply. Fruits, berries, melons and leafy greens, which appear only during the main rains, are nowhere available. The mongongo nuts are still abundant but are found only at distances of ten or more miles from the permanent waterholes. The diet

132 highs in the 90's. The warmer weather heralds the onset of
312 spring which is the most difficult season of the year. Most
137 of the waterholes have no mongongo nuts within a ten mile
222 radius. The alternative foods, roots and bulbs, are being collected daily by some of the people, while others are making the long overnight journeys to the nut forests.

221 Since territories vary in the abundance of early spring
574 foods there was a noticeable tendency for families to visit
628 other camps. For instance in September, Bate still had a good supply of Sclerocarya caffra nuts, and several families from Dobe, Mahopa, and !angwa converged upon Bate to eat these nuts. Similarly !ubi had a supply of Baobab fruits (Adansonia digititata) and other families made extended visits to relatives there. The maintenance of close ties between camps made possible a more equitable distribution of foodstuffs, so that, if there was scarcity at one camp, and food at another, the members of the first camp would not go hungry. This is one of the highly adaptive features of the fluidity of !Kung group structure.

[563] Some families fall back on the Herero villages at this
[431] time of year to beg for milk. This occurs especially among those people who have a sister or cousin married to a Bantu man. Both the Bushman and Herero codes of good manners demand that visiting in-laws be fed (L. Marshall 1961).

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221 this account of the seasonal round has come full circle to the starting point.

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433 In summary, there are, in effect, only three basic sets of subsistence conditions for the Bushmen:

1. Water everywhere - Food everywhere
2. Water limited - Food abundant
3. Water limited - Food scarce.

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433 When the first set of conditions prevail during the rains of November through March, Bushman life is sweet. The camps
[628] can live near the most concentrated food sources within their
[574] territory, or share in the food supply of neighboring camps,
[602] or easily undertake the long trips to visit relatives at distant waterholes.

When the second set of conditions prevail, from April through July, freedom of movement is more restricted but food is still abundant enough to make life comfortable.

When the third set of conditions prevail, from August through October, the Bushmen must resort to increasingly arduous tactics in order to maintain a good diet, or, alternatively they must content themselves with foods of less desirability in terms of abundance, ease of collecting and nutritive value.

It is during the three lean months of the year that the Bushmen life approaches the precarious conditions that have

262 insects that occur locally are regarded as food. Such animals as rodents, snakes, lizards, termites, and grasshoppers, which, in the literature, are included in the Bushman dietary, are despised by the Bushmen of the Dobe area. Even the more attractive larger mammals are hedged round by numerous age-specific, sex-specific, and personal taboos, so that no single Bushman may eat all of the thirty species of mammal that are considered edible. Ritual curers prescribe, for each individual, a series of species that would be highly injurious if the individual were to eat them. These prohibitions are strictly observed. For instance, the wife of /oma, the most successful wart-hog hunter, was forbidden to eat the meat of that species and she became sick to her stomach at the mere smell of cooking wart-hog meat. Such strongly-held aversions and selective tastes are cultural luxuries that are not usually associated with a starvation level subsistence.

462 [512] Leisure and Work -- The getting of food is the most important single activity in Bushman life. This task occupies, on the average, 25 per cent of the womens' days and 40 per cent of the mens' days. The significant point, however, is that the majority of the time of both sexes is spent in non-subsistence [222] activities such as resting, talking, and visiting. In a typical [574] work period, a Bush woman will gather one day and then spend two or three days either resting in camp or visiting other camps,

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[224] before she goes out to gather again. The hunters tend to work more frequently than the gatherers. Typically a man will go out on two or three consecutive days and then spend two or three days in camp. Unlike the women, who maintained a consistent gathering routine throughout the year, the hunting activity of the men came in intermittent bursts. It was not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two weeks. Since hunting was an unpredictable business, and subject to magical control, hunters would sometimes experience a run of bad luck and would stop hunting for a month or longer. For instance, /oma, the best hunter of the Dobe camp, did not hunt at all for a three-month period in 1963 because he said that his luck had left him. He remained in camp, apparently awaiting inspiration, while his wife patiently provided food for him. Most of the men of the Dobe camp went through similar periods of inactivity.

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[887] Non-productive Camp Members -- People who are under twenty years and over sixty-five years of age contribute very little to the food input of a camp. Young women are not expected to
[582] contribute food until they are married. Girls typically marry
[574] between the ages of fifteen and twenty, so it is not unusual to find healthy, active, teenagers visiting from camp to camp while their older relatives provide food for them. The assumption of adult responsibility by the boys is even more delayed.

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361 transhumant annual round, in which they alternate between their rainy season range and their dry season range.

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628 The Dobe area !Kung do not undertake long marches of 30-70 miles for the purpose of getting food. This task can be readily fulfilled within a day's walk of their territorial water sources. When such long marches occur, they are invariably for the purposes of visiting, trading, and marital exchanges with relatives at distant camps. As such, these trips should not be confused with the normal routines of subsistence.

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162 Range Size and Population Density -- By plotting the movements of the various camps in their annual subsistence cycle, the observer can derive a rough estimate of the total land area that is required to support the population of 430 Bushmen. It would be much more difficult to estimate the area necessary to support a single camp, because of the considerable overlap of territories and the frequent visiting between camps. It will be more useful to treat the entire population as a unit. It is estimated that the 800 square miles that lie within a six-mile radius of major water sources are sufficient to support the population for most of the year. Beyond this radius lies a hinterland which is rarely penetrated; perhaps a further 200 square miles of this hinterland is utilized in the course of a single year. Thus the total annual range of the Dobe area Bushmen may be estimated at 1,000 square miles. This calculation sets the effective population

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Bushmen FX10

221 312 423 compelled to turn back to permanent waterholes. Thus in the rainy season the Aikwe, Tsaukwe, /Amkwe, /Dukwe, and Tserekwe all hunt in the wide sandveld pierced by the bed of the Letyahau, keeping to some extent to their respective hunting territories, but apparently also hunting together peacefully in the most central parts of the region. In the dry season, however, they turn back to the limestone pans of the Ghansiveld and Mahuraveld and to the river-courses of the Tauche-Botletle system, where permanent water is to be found.[1] The same alternation of residence with the seasons occurs, as we have seen, among the Tannekwe and the Hukwe, and may also be noted among the Kung and the Auen in the Omaheke and Kaukauveld.[2]

[621] It is not only in alternation of residence that the change of season makes itself felt. In some cases it also affects the very cohesion of the band itself; for, as already mentioned, both among the Auen and among some of the Central Kalahari tribes the members of the band concentrate together during the rainy season when there is a more abundant supply of food, but as the dry season comes on the families scatter and wander off in different directions.

462 512 From their huts the people go out every day in search of food. The women rise early, light the fire, and prepare the food for the morning meal, which usually consists of veldkos left over from the previous evening. After having eaten, the men may go out hunting or visiting or engage in some other occupation, such as preparing skins, weapons, and utensils. The women accompany one another in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. "One may see a group of women and little children start off in one direction, single file of course, then some men in another, then four or five boys together, then girls, small and big, then some more men, and so on." When food is obtainable at no great distance, the women are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have far to go they may not reach home till late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they start the fires and proceed to prepare the food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water from the neighbouring waterhole.

[264] Food is ready by the time the men arrive in the late afternoon, and the evening meal, the principal meal of the day, is then eaten without delay. Meals are taken in common by the members of the family,

512 [574] each family eating at its own hut. Afterwards visits are usually

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 31–2.
[2] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

exchanged from hut to hut, the women going to one hut, the men to another, and so on. Only the owners sit in a hut, while the visitors gather round the fire outside. The little children play about everywhere, the bigger boys and girls by themselves. There is no fixed time for going to sleep. As a rule the people turn in to bed fairly early, but if it is a fine evening dancing may be started and kept up till late, everybody taking part except the old people and the little children.[1]

Food and Fire

The Bushmen will eat almost anything that can be eaten. Of animal foods the favourite is game of all kinds, when it can be obtained, and they are also very fond of hare, spring hare, guinea fowl, korhaan, partridge, ostrich, and other birds, as well as birds' eggs. Fish too are eaten wherever they can be caught, and among the Bushmen of the Okavango swamps are a staple article of diet. Anteaters, ant bears, tortoises, porcupines, bull frogs, snakes, and lizards are greatly relished, while among insects locusts, scorpions, beetles, young bees and honey, termites, flying ants and ants' eggs are also eaten. In fact all kinds of living animals are made use of as food, with the almost universal exception of the baboon and the hyena—the former " on account of its being so like a man ", the latter " because it eats human corpses ".

The most important vegetable foods in the Southern and Central Kalahari are the *tsama* (*Citrullus vulgaris*), " uintjies " (*Cyperus edulis Dtr.*), *Grewia* berries, and the *//noun* (*Bauhinea esculenta*); in the Namib the *!naras* fruit (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*) forms almost the sole article of diet when in season; while as one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, such as the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuande, and omuve. In addition numerous other varieties of edible roots, berries, cucumbers, tubers, melons, and ground nuts appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season, when they form the principal part of the daily menu.[2]

Much of the food is eaten raw, but the Bushmen know how to prepare and cook it. Each family prepares its own food. Cooking

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 32; Fourie, " The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 88.

[2] Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 54 sqq.; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 234–5; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 659 sqq.; Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; Kaufmann, " Die Auin," 139–40, 144 sqq.; Werner, " Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 253–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 114 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 6–7; Fourie, op. cit., 98 sq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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224 262 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu* (youths) is known as */om-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, 224 252 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at the *axarogudi /gaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the 262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the */heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the *!koms*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* ● [574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *!noe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*, [264] under which is included the *!koms*. The latter may be eaten only under the */heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is [841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *!koms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by 224 262 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the 622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */hei-/ais* with [372] fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief, 114 224 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that [622] food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 155–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band. Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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619 621 [221] [423] Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 619 621 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' [881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his [574] preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and 726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several 619 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, 621 although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 619 621 628 [685] 648 685 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 117.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 33.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 134.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 11; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.